

32
1794. 25

PRESENT
STATE OF FRANCE.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEES

OF

PUBLIC AND GENERAL SAFETY AND
OF LEGISLATION,

ON THE

STATE OF FRANCE:

PRESENTED TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION,

SEPTEMBER 20th, 1794.

BY ROBERT LINDET.

LONDON :

Printed by and for JOHN BELL, *British Library*, Strand,
Bookseller to His Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES,

MDCCXCIV.

[Price One Shilling ~~one shilling~~]

LIBRARY
STATE OF MICHIGAN

RECEIVED

APR 10 1881

LIBRARY

STATE OF MICHIGAN

RECEIVED

APR 10 1881

40

6 25

163



NATIONAL CONVENTION.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEES OF PUBLIC AND
GENERAL SAFETY AND OF LEGISLATION,
ON THE STATE OF FRANCE:

PRESENTED TO THE CONVENTION, Sept. 20, 1794.

Robert Lindet.

“THE Representatives of the People have felt the necessity of laying before the Public an account of the actual situation of France. They are desirous of making known the causes which have prepared or effected the great events of our Revolution. Ever since Governments usurped the Rights of the People, they have more or less coalesced to support their common tyranny. A Nation cannot resume its rights and reform its Government, without neighbouring Governments leaguering to oppress it. When a Nation desires to be free, it is not enough that the People will to be so; they must be strong enough to resist the coalition of Despots, and to make their liberty be acknowledged and respected. One million two hundred thousand citizens in arms, who form the advanced guard of the defenders of Liberty, sweep the frontiers of Spain, the Palatinate and the Netherlands. Every thing yields to their courage; our enemies, struck with terror, fly to their places of retreat, accuse their chiefs and their tyrants, and murmur secret prayers for

the success of their conquerors. Nations sacrificed to the pride of Kings, feel alone the calamities of war, and see in the French, the avengers of the Rights of Man. The art of sieges and encampments is brought to perfection ; the prudence of those who command, the confidence of those who obey, order, harmony, and vigilance, protect a race of heroes ; grand conceptions, the wisest and boldest plans, new means of war, assure to you, not only the preservation of the advantages you have obtained, but new and more brilliant successes, until your enemies shall be disarmed, and nations awakened from their present slumber. A formidable marine, united and wisely directed, renders impotent the fury of your enemies, prepares the ruin of their commerce, and promises you the freedom of the seas. The Nations who have maintained peace, the Governments who have been wise enough to resist the insinuations of the Courts of Vienna and London, hear and repeat the accounts of your victories. You have done every thing for Liberty, by inspiring so high an opinion of her defenders. You have conquered the opinion of nations. They no longer ask whether you have a Government ; they know that to maintain the most numerous land armies, to cover the Ocean with ships of war, to fight and vanquish by sea and land, to bring into your ports the commerce of the world, is to govern. This sentiment with which you have inspired the people of the North, of Africa, America, and those bordering on your frontiers, is too evident to be disputed. Your

enemies can neither veil nor obscure your glory. They cannot ravish from you the confidence, and the esteem of other nations.

“ By what means has France attained to this height of glory and power? By what astonishing sacrifices has she destroyed so much, and erected on the ruins an edifice so prodigious? When Liberty and Equality were solemnly proclaimed, every Frenchman felt that he had a country, and for that country was ready to sacrifice himself. Every citizen is become the defender, and the prop of the French Republic. You have recalled to the minds of men that they are all equal, that they are all brothers, They have flown to the assistance of each other; they have looked upon themselves but as individuals of one family; and France, thus closely united, has become the first and most powerful of nations. You desire us to recount to you what she has done, and what she has suffered. You will give a sublime idea of the value to be attached to Liberty, of the courage and the constancy of the French, by transmitting to posterity, and revealing to all nations, that France, abandoned to her own resources, created every thing for her own defence, understood and developed her own means of repelling attack; that in dearth and penury she imposed upon herself the severest sacrifices; and that old age replaced in the manufactories the youth who marched to battle. The arts of war have employed so many hands, have taken away so great a number of citizens from the other arts, that it was apprehended agriculture,

commerce, and manufactures must be abandoned. The French found resources in their activity. Persevering labour preserved us from the evils which there was so much reason to fear. Never before was such an extent of land cultivated and sown. The soil of France was covered with productions the most various. No part was neglected. Some spots, cursed as it were with sterility, despoiled before the time of harvest, experienced the severest proof of the activity of the cultivator, and presented the spectacle of man, subduing the obstacles of nature. These labours were crowned with corresponding success. But you will send to places where the soil has been ungrateful, or the climate unpropitious, aids, in proportion to their wants. How much have useful professions been neglected; how much have the manufactories and workshops been deserted! and yet the labours and efforts of a small number of citizens have been sufficient. We have had less reason to observe the diminution of articles of consumption, than to admire a whole People in the activity that circumstances required, and a small number of industrious and laborious citizens doing what the majority of the nation had formerly been employed to do—supplying all the articles necessary to subsistence. That which ought particularly to fix attention is the sublime reason of the People, who imposed upon themselves so many privations, who established and maintained an economy so astonishing in the consumption of provisions. They were content to suffer, that they might

be free. What a spectacle for posterity is that of a People sacrificing every day to their Country the price of their labour, their clothing and their sustenance ; regardless of themselves, and renewing to-day the sacrifices they had made yesterday—sacrifices which nothing but experience could induce us to believe within human power.

“ Representatives of the French Nation, in such an epoch, what are your functions?—You encourage the People, you sustain their hopes, you enlighten the French, you diffuse knowledge, you fix arts and talents, you employ genius and science in the defence of liberty, you give laws worthy of a free People, you hold with a firm hand all the links of a vast Government, you prepare, you direct, those grand movements which draw upon you the attention of nations, and changes the aspect of Europe. While you are fulfilling with such splendour your high destinies, let France, let all the Nations of the earth, applaud your immense labours.

“ Yet the genius of faction is still reviving and putting the country in danger. Let us recollect events, the memory of which ought never to be effaced : they will be a useful lesson for us and for posterity. The Representatives of the People ought not only to transmit their glory and their success, they ought also to transmit a knowledge of their dangers, their misfortunes and their errors ; thus the first navigators marked the rocks they had the good fortune to shun, and taught their successors to steer a safer course. The National Convention,

by its decree of the 2d of June, destroyed a faction (the Brissotines) powerful by its talents and by its popularity, which not being able to conceive the plan of a Government, had thrown itself into the arms of a principal Minister, and opposed giving to France laws and a constitution ; which spoke only of itself, and was on the point of delivering over to a foreign protector or her antient tyrants, a nation then ignorant of her misfortunes, her dangers, her means, her resources, and whom a criminal Minister entertained only with opinions frivolous or destructive. Public opinion was divided, sensibility interested itself for men whose ambitious projects were then unknown, France was not soon enough instructed of them. The observer, who has studied the movements of the Republic at that period, is convinced, that all the French desired equally to be well informed, but that the same mode of information was not equally suitable to all. Vivacity of sentiment hurried away some, others expected to be convinced, and desired to have under their eyes the most methodical proofs. The People were divided, exasperated, flew to arms, and were going in the name of the Republic, one and indivisible, to rend the bosom of their Country for which they had sworn to spill their blood. Amid so much disorder and calamity, the National Convention, surrounded with treason and with perfidy, gave to France a Constitution and Laws, opposed the efforts of the foreign powers, and enlightened the French with respect to former events. Knowledge was dif-

fused, the mask torn from traitors, order re-established, all eyes fixed upon you, and all hearts attached to you. The enemies of the interior had profited of these violent agitations to augment the number of their secret or avowed partisans. They had a great example of the facility with which a People, honest, generous, and of quick feeling, may be agitated. It was necessary to put the People on their guard, and to associate the whole of them for the purpose of general vigilance. It was necessary to warn them against the insinuations and the intrigues of their enemies ; to point out and characterise those, whose intentions, conduct and connexions, they ought to suspect ; to inspire them with the highest confidence in the Friends of Liberty and Equality ; and to make known those who aimed only at misleading them. The decree of the 17th September, regulated the functions and the duties of the Committees of Vigilance. The Citizens called to discharge those functions, executed them with zeal. The services they rendered to the Republic can never be forgotten ; they gave the last blow to Aristocracy ; they repressed our internal enemies ; and they confirmed the public tranquillity. We ought not to conceal from France that several of these committees departed from the object of their institution ; but we ought to declare that the faults of several arose from error not from intention. If it should be asked why the Convention organized a plan of vigilance, requiring such a prodigious number of functionaries that all Europe could not fur-

nish a sufficient number of well informed men to fill all the places, the French will answer, that the plan was wise and necessary. Our enemies were so numerous, so widely spread, had so many modes and means of insinuating themselves into the administrations, the popular societies, and even into our families, that every Citizen was obliged to consider himself as a centinel stationed at a post. Our experience and the mischiefs we had suffered, had instructed us to know our enemies. If some of us have gone too far, that is no reason for blaming a grand Institution, which was as necessary against our internal enemies, as our armies against the coalesced powers.

“ On the 8th Thermidor, the artful plan of a vast conspiracy was discovered in this very Hall. An attempt was made to divide the French, to inspire them with terror and despair, to weaken the sentiment of gratitude to the defenders of our country, and to spread doubts with respect to our victories. Next day the veil was rent away. It was not then your business to consult the public opinion, but to anticipate it ; and without regarding the danger, to aim at the glory of forming the public opinion. The voice of the People could not reach you. It was your duty to give the example of courage to free men. The soul rises upon great emergencies, and perils serve only to enlighten it. Your resolutions were prompt and grand. You extinguished the burning torches which were lighted to consume your country. The days of the 14th July, and the 10th Au-

gust, will attest the invincible courage of the French, as much as the defence of Lille, the re-capture of Toulon, raising the sieges of Dunkirk, Maubeuge, and Landau, the battle of Fleurus, the conquest of Belgium, and all the military events that have given lustre to the French arms on the Alps and the Pyrenees. The day of the 31st May will attest the majestic countenance of a People rising to combat anarchy, passions, disorders of every kind, and demanding a Government and Laws. The day of the 9th Thermidor will teach posterity that the French nation had gone through all the periods of her Revolution; that she had arrived at that point, when attempts could only be made to mislead, by the brilliancy of a great reputation, the appearance of civism, of probity, and of all the virtues which had been made the order of the day. This last event has been useful to Liberty in another point of view, because the National Representation was shown grand and powerful enough to strike the traitors; and because the wise, grand, and sublime conduct of the People proved, that it was impossible to mislead them. The measures of general safety had assumed a character of force and severity which carried affright into the hearts of citizens, and deprived France of hands and resources. The traitors whom you have punished had changed the object and the direction of them. You wished to strike the enemies of the Republic; they made use of your arms and your measures to strike the weak, and the useful; they

spared not the husbandman or the artisan ; they could not destroy you, or make you be hated, and therefore they wished to make you feared. You have applied your first cares to revive confidence and security ; you have restored the labourer to agriculture ; the artisan, to commerce and manufactures ; the aged and infirm, to Liberty. Some unquiet spirits have conceived alarms ; some have been really alarmed ; others have feigned to be so, lest a retrograde motion should hurry over precipices, and replunge France into the abyss from which she rose on the 31st of May. This sentiment seems to have inspired the petitions and addresses you have received from several Constituted Authorities, and a great number of Popular Societies. The situation of France, in this respect, exhibits a great nation, understanding her rights, her interests, the laws of nature, and of reason ; pursuing her safety and her happiness, her eyes fixed upon you, meditating on your decrees, watching the Government, desiring to establish internal peace, to obtain the necessary consideration among neutral and allied nations, and to carry terror beyond her frontiers among nations making war against her. This nation is grand and generous ! she gives a tear to calamity and misfortune ; she feels her own power and force ; she loves order and submission to the laws ; she has not shared in the troubles, the disquiets, and the agitations of some Societies and Public Functionaries. In the redress of abuses, she has seen only a return to rules and to principles. But it cannot be denied that

inquiet spirits endeavour to propagate their opinions and their fears with extreme activity. They employ all the means in their power ; correspondence, resolutions, deputations ; they publish, that the Government has no longer its proper force or energy ; that Aristocrats, restored to liberty, are oppressing the citizens ; that the Patriots are sacrificed to the numerous enemies, whom their courage has roused against them. Organs of the will of the French, hasten to prevent the consequences of these new dissensions. Embittered hatreds, the inevitable consequence of the diversity of Revolutionary opinions, of fears, real or imaginary, always produce pernicious consequences. Announce to France, that the Government will be maintained in all its force ; that in your hands it will preserve that character of power, and of severity, which represses all its enemies, and allows no faction to revive. The Patriots, the Public Functionaries, the Popular Societies—can they be afraid that the services they have rendered will be forgotten ? They have dared every thing, they have braved all dangers to save their country. The will of France now recalls to their labours and their professions, a great number of citizens, who had relinquished them to fill public functions : they knew that those functions were temporary ; that power too long retained in the same hands, becomes an object of political jealousy ; that Liberty takes the alarm ; that it is a load which crushes him whose imprudent courage leads him to bear it too long. They ought not to fear that those

who will be entrusted with the same powers, will not equal them in zeal, and make all the necessary sacrifices to their country. They ought not to fear that France will abandon them to the resentment or vengeance which the faithful discharge of their duty may have excited. They have defended the sacred cause of Liberty, and in tempestuous times they have exerted the great power which necessity created. The nation wills not that those who have directed the thunder against her enemies, should be themselves consumed by it. Representatives of the People, you must not relax the cares which justice and humanity have imposed upon you. Restore Liberty to all whom the private hatred, passions, or errors of Public Functionaries, or the fury of the late conspirators, have hurried to prison. Restore Liberty to every citizen who has been or may be useful. Let not age or infirmity call in vain for this blessing. You have passed through many a crisis, often accompanied with many dangers and much uncertainty; you have sometimes seen your atmosphere loaded with so many clouds, obscured by so much darkness, that you cannot impute it as a crime to your fellow-citizens, at a distance from this centre of knowledge, that they have sometimes marched with uncertain and tottering steps, and that they have not foreseen events which no theory could enable them to calculate. Error is never to be confounded with treachery or guilt. Prove by the application of principles, and by your conduct, that all men are equal. Inquire not into the illusions

that may have enveloped their birth, or to what prejudices of rank or profession they have sacrificed under despotism. If the revolution has enlightened them, if it has brought them back to the principles of equality, if they march constantly with you, if they accompany you faithfully in your revolutionary career, look not upon them but as brothers and friends. When you have elevated yourselves to the sublime principles of equality, you ought not to re-descend to trace the line of demarcation which the prejudices of family or profession had marked out, and which the Revolution has destroyed. You ought not to look back to the birth or former professions of your fellow citizens; in order to form your opinion of them, weigh only their demeanor and their actions. You will not imitate the conduct of tyrants, whose policy is to destroy, while yours is to preserve. It is not for yourselves alone that you have founded a Republic, but for every Frenchman who wishes to be free. It is not allowable to exclude any but the bad citizen. The Frenchman, who after having sacrificed to ignorance and prejudices, opens his eyes to the light, expiates his errors, repairs his faults, or perhaps shews himself your rival in reclaiming the rights of nature and the principles of equality. You are too well informed with respect to your situation, not to know how many citizens have wandered from the paths of the Revolution, and yet have returned on the call of the National Representatives. Would you reject such men? How many faithful brothers and

friends would you ruin. Is it not the same blood with your own, that circulates in the veins of the generous and valiant youth, who expect of you the liberty of their parents, as the best reward of their toils and their victories! Those young warriors who fall in the field console themselves with the hopes of bequeathing to their fathers and mothers, the liberty they have so well defended; it is their last wish in death; it is for you to accomplish this wish.

“ The sciences and the arts have been persecuted, yet the arts and sciences have contributed to your successes. By them we have been instructed to gather from under our feet, the elements of which the thunder is composed that strikes tyrants to the earth. By means of them it is that the improved art of Montgolfier raises into the air our generals and engineers, discovers the manœuvres of Cobourg, and decides the fate of battles. Who remembers not Fleurus? By them metals are prepared and purified; new riches, new means of war, new sources of prosperity and peace are drawn from the bosom of the earth. By means of them skins are tanned, prepared, and made fit for use within eight days. To arts and sciences even in a state of oppression, we owe these astonishing and useful wonders. If they have made such rapid progress, in spite of the fury of Robespierre, who never durst look an enlightened or useful man in the face, what will they not achieve when they shall enjoy the advantages of liberty and equality? Arts and sciences were the first to proclaim the rights of

man ; shall they not invoke the protection of those rights ? You will not be truly happy, you will not enjoy the prosperity to which you have a right to aspire, till you shall restore public confidence, employ all talents and all knowledge ; till the philosopher and the artizan shall treat one another as brothers and friends, and enjoy the same right and the same liberty. Agriculture has made advances and incredible efforts, but it now calls for your aid. Encourage the proprietor and the cultivator. With how many evils has agriculture been afflicted ? How many useful men have the emissaries of Robespierre torn from its service ? We were long afraid that the lands would not be cultivated, that the meadows would not be covered with cattle, while the proprietors or the renters of lands and meadows were detained in houses of arrest. You have served agriculture by restoring to their labours the Members of the Committees of Vigilance of the Country Communes. We must, however, recal to their minds the love of labour, and excite the ardor of our fellow-citizens. Want of hands is complained of ; but it is not to be denied that a great number of citizens are not so industrious as circumstances require. Restore security, extinguish hatred and discord, make your fellow-citizens forget the evils inseparable from a great Revolution ; tell them that the past is no longer ours but belongs to posterity ; tell them that they have fought, that they have suffered for equality ; prove to them, and let them feel, that they are free and equal. Let your laws

and your institutions call man to industry; let the useful and laborious be assured of their liberty and their independence; let labour be honoured and idleness branded with shame. All the arts, all the professions call for your attention, and demand your encouragement. Their productions have surpassed expectation, but if we have proved what they are capable of doing, our efforts must not be remitted. Our necessities are augmenting, consumption is excessive, yet a great number of our cultivators do not bring their corn and other commodities into circulation. They store up their wool and spinning is neglected. Restore activity throughout the fields, the workshops and the manufactories.

“ The commerce of France exhibits only ruins and fragments. Commerce too has been persecuted by Robespierre; a destroying genius hovered over France and committed devastations every where. Foreign nations send you their productions, and ask for yours in return; but you consume every thing yourselves. Will you offer them metals in exchange? What mines have you sufficient for the purpose? It is industry alone that can enable a nation to maintain the balance of trade with other nations. Preserve France from the misfortune of becoming tributary to other nations by paying for their productions in money. Restore that vigour to commerce which error and ignorance have suspended! Declare solemnly that every citizen who employs his time usefully in agriculture, science, arts, or commerce shall

neither be molested nor treated as a suspected person. Restore to manufacturers all the commodities that are now under seals, put in circulation all the commodities that have been dispatched to different places, but stopped and detained in consequence of the decree, which orders the confiscation of every thing sent to places in a state of rebellion. Turn your attention to Lyons ; put a stop to the demolition of buildings ; make the Citizens return to their manufactories. They were born to create and not to destroy. It is not regulations that we require. Secure the freedom of exportation, and a sufficient number of Citizens will soon appear to collect silk, to manufacture, and to sell it. Other manufactures will be resumed with the same success ; and Lyons will yet rise from her ruins. Let Marseilles recollect the means which formed her glory and her prosperity, passion has made her forget the advantages of her situation, her interests and her wants. This Commune, whose commerce was so flourishing and so useful, who prided herself on supplying all her own wants, and contributing to those of the whole South of France, subsists at present on the aids granted by government. With difficulty could a few merchants be collected there to form two Agencies, for the remnant of the commerce of the Levant, and the Coast of Barbary. At Cette, merchants who were sacrificing their private fortunes in executing an order from the Committee of Public Safety, were treated as Coun-

ter-Revolutionists, because they were exporting commodities to make good the engagements entered into by the Republic. Such is the result of so many declamations against commerce. Instead of restraining its errors, directing it to the public good, punishing the guilty, and encouraging those who were willing and able to serve their country, we have annihilated it. Such is always the effect of general proscriptions. Extinguish the flame of passions that consumes the South. Let the inhabitants know, that you form a proper estimate of their talents, and their knowledge ; that you have put both in requisition, to contribute to the safety of the country ; that you desire to unite all Frenchmen, to put an end to all civil dissensions ; and reviving commerce will provide for all your wants. Bourdeaux expects encouragement. It is preparing exportations of commodities, but great obstacles still retard all the necessary operations. The evils suffered by the Commune of Nantes, resound in every ear. What can commerce do amid such calamities and persecutions ? This citadel of the West, sustained a siege of more than fifteen months ; it combated the rebels and the banditti ; it preserved to the Republic an important place, and the navigation of the Loire. Its fidelity, and its misfortunes, call for a recompence. If the unfortunate inhabitants of Nantes unite, their city will soon become the greatest magazine of Europe, and assure the circulation of the commodities of the interior of France. To what a condition is the manufacture of Sedan reduced ? They there ceased

to manufacture stuffs of luxury, as soon as they were informed of the necessities of the armies; they at once prepared clothing for the troops, defended their town, fought and vanquished the enemy. You will re-establish their manufacture. The principal magazines are just now at the disposal of the nation, and the commodities are under seals. You will restore to industrious hands, those magazines and commodities which must feed their manufactures. You will allow a certain number of persons to be employed in the manufacture of stuffs of luxury for exportation.

“ We must tell France, that one of the greatest obstacles to the restoration of commerce and exports, is the excessive consumption of all the productions of the soil in the interior. For corn and provisions, we must give in exchange a part of our wines. Bourdeaux, in consequence of the great consumption, cannot obtain a sufficient quantity for the demand. It is for you, Representatives of the People, to give great lessons of œconomy. The nations who have recovered or preserved their Liberty, have been remarkable for their simplicity and frugality. Great consumers are in a constant state of dependence. Œconomy, frugality, labour, and industry, are the sole guarantees of the stability of the Republic. We cannot too often repeat that the army and the navy, with the services requisite for them, take from agriculture and the useful professions more than one million five hundred thousand citizens, and that the maintenance of six million of men, dis-

persed over the various communes, would cost less to the Republic. We have but a confused idea of the losses and consumption occasioned by great numbers collected into one place. The enemies of the Republic, private interest, and criminal avarice, have fomented divisions between the inhabitants of the cities, and the inhabitants of the country ; between husbandmen and artizans—between the citizens of neighbouring Departments, Districts, and even Communes. The seas, long shut, did not allow the Government to replace, in some Departments, the provisions it had been obliged to borrow, for the use of the armies. Recal to the minds of Frenchmen those sentiments of fraternity that render it a sacred duty to share their provisions with their brothers of the armies, of the Departments, of all conditions and professions, in whatever part of the Republic they may be. Let us engrave on every heart this maxim :—*Remember, Republican, that in whatever part of France you may be, you are among brothers and friends.* If it be difficult to talk on the subject of provisions, remember that it is also impossible not to talk upon it. Several Departments have lost their harvest. Hail, rain, and tempests have done great damage in several places, although in a great majority of the Departments there be the utmost abundance. The confidence of foreign states in our probity, will soon bring into our ports whatever we may want ; but in the mean-time, we must take care our markets be well supplied, and that all obstacles to relieving the wants of one place

by the abundance of another, be removed. The internal navigation is restored; relays now establishing from the East to the West, and from the North to the South, will facilitate the conveyance of every article. A levy of forty-four thousand horses and mules, within three or four months, has retarded the transport of provisions. You have great obstacles to surmount; but in fairly stating them we treat you as a free People ought to be treated. You have great efforts to make, but they are as far inferior to your power, as your resources are superior to your wants.

“What then is required of you, Representatives of the People, to crown your own glory, and assure the happiness of your Country?—Union and confidence. Let us reproach one another neither with errors nor misfortunes. We are all set out in the same career. Some have combated with courage and reflection; others, with impetuous and inconsiderate ardour. Each of us have contributed to found and to strengthen the Republic, to preserve the friends and destroy the enemies, of Liberty and Equality. Who would require of us an account of movements which it is impossible to foresee, or to direct? The Revolution is accomplished: it is the work of all. What generals, what soldiers have never done more than just what they ought, or have been able to stop at the precise point, where calm and cool reason would have directed? Were we not all in a state of warfare against the most numerous and the most formidable enemies? What reverse

has not inflamed our courage? What has happened to us that has not happened to all men removed to an infinite distance from the ordinary course of life? Must not some of us display the charms of Equality, so as to make them beloved, while others carry terror and dismay into the midst of our enemies? The Revolution has cost victims; fortunes have been lost, and fortunes gained: Will you now authorize enquiries into every particular event? When an edifice is completed, the architect pulls down the scaffolding, but destroys not his fellow-labourers. The navigator, overtaken by the tempest, relies upon his courage and his skill, which danger renders more active, and fruitful of resources, to save the vessel entrusted to him. When arrived unshipwrecked in the port, no man requires of him an account of his manœuvres—no man asks if he has strictly followed his instructions. When there was such frequent occasion to hurl the thunder, could any man answer for its always reaching its true object? Reason, the safety of your Country, allow you not to turn your eyes on the ruins you have passed. Fix them only on what remains to be done, and let this employ all your thoughts.

“ We must add to the picture we have laid before you, an account of the dispositions of men’s minds, and an explanation of some secret and particular causes that may have had great influence on the late movements, and which it is necessary every Frenchman should know. While the Revolution was so powerfully agitating our

minds, while great passions, invincible courage, the moral qualities of natural man, the civic virtues, were raising us above ourselves, vice too was making advances. Men were seen, who embraced the Revolution only for the sake of the crimes they hoped to commit, and the private advantages they expected to derive from it. They wished not for Equality of Rights, they aimed only at the confounding of fortunes; they hoped to squander or accumulate the wealth of others. Some of them succeeded; for our Revolution has not been free from spots. When the last Conspirators were punished, these monsters attempted to rally; racked with fear and remorse, they called on all France to overturn the government; seeing no safety for themselves but in confusion and anarchy. They endeavoured to seduce or mislead their fellow citizens, the Public Functionaries and Popular Societies; they could not think themselves secure without persuading every body that their own dangers were those of all France. They usurped the title of patriots—they said, “We are discovered, we are going to be persecuted, to be called to an account for all our frauds and robberies. Let us alarm the patriots, let us persuade them that they have a common cause with us, and that we must stand or fall together.” Thus they misled some Public Functionaries, and some members of the Popular Societies, who feared that the severity of your justice would confound guilt with error, the accidental abuse of power with the crimes of fraud and avarice. No uneasiness or agitation

would have appeared, if great criminals had not disseminated the fears which they alone had reason to feel. You will avail yourselves of this consideration. Continue to enlighten the nation, to give confidence to the patriots, and the efforts of the guilty will be fruitless. Errors, faults, abuses of power, arbitrary acts, are evils inseparable from a great revolution. But if there are crimes that call for a speedy expiation, you will not silence the Courts of Justice. The citizens who have shared the alarms of the guilty, will soon abandon the cause of these impostors, and France will see guilt go a begging for the support which it will not find. To fix public opinion in future, to confirm confidence and security, let France learn that her Representatives, now collecting all the reins of government, will themselves and alone direct the Revolutionary movements. The Revolution has made some men unfortunate, but it will not abandon them to despair. In a Republic of brothers, in which distinctions are abolished, where the pride of wealth is despised, where the useful and industrious citizen is every thing, and the idle man nothing, there is no room for despair. Equality, by bringing men back to nature, has given them the means of wiping away tears and repairing misfortunes. Our country will abandon none of her children ; she will make them forget their losses ; she will restore them to, and guide them in the path of happiness.

“ Frenchmen, who have cause of complaint, read over the immortal pages of our history ;

examine all the events which have signalized the courage, and eternized the glory of the nation. Inhabitants of the North, with what sentiments are you not penetrated, when you fix your eyes upon Lisle; what impression is not made upon you by the recollection of that memorable siege, during which the inhabitants of Lisle displayed such firmness. Constancy is the true heroism of Frenchmen. The citizens of Thionville exhibited the same example, amid the same dangers. View that army of heroes, rushing into the fire of batteries, carrying redoubts, and gaining the bloody battle of Jemappe; see it attack the enemy before Brussels, and make the first conquest of Belgium! A new scene opens; the French have to defend their own frontiers; the English are beaten at Dunkirk, the Austrians before Maubeuge. The army advances into West Flanders; this country, full of fortresses, is covered by the whole force of the Allied Powers. All the fortresses fall into the hands of the French, and the capitulations of Ostend and Nieuport, deprive the English of every communication with Belgium. Mark with what courage the defenders of their country prepared before Charleroi, the success which was to crown them next day in the plains of Fleurus. A proud Monarch published by sound of trumpet, the capture of Namur. A new mode of tactics, which other nations will never appropriate, and which despotism will never introduce into its armies, restores Namur to the French. They pursue the Austrians, they force them to retreat. They enter Liege,

E

where they make the most glorious and the most useful of conquests. They break the sceptre of a priest, and the chains with which a despot bound his fellow men. The industrious inhabitants of Liege quit the land of bondage, and seek the soil of the Republic, to enjoy liberty, and establish new manufactures of arms, to complete the destruction of tyrants. Inhabitants of our Eastern Countries, what transports have you not felt, when you were spectators of those encampments, marches, battles, and victories, which opened to your brothers the gates of Spire, Worms, and Mentz. All the banks of the Rhine resound with the victories of our armies. The armies of the Moselle and the Rhine unite, put the Austrians and Prussians to flight; restore the communication with Landau, and scour the Palatinate. Inhabitants of the South, you know whether the fruits of victory have been useful to France. The conquest of Savoy gave to the Republic the Department of Mont Blanc. Mount Cenis now assures the conquest and the liberty of our brethren. Nice and Villefranche secure to us magazines which we could not do without. The capture of Saorgio guarantees the union of the Maritime Alps. Cravella has seen the Croats and Austrians flying before Republicans, whose orders were to preserve the free Countries of Italy from the yoke of a foreign domination. Collioure and Port Vendre were occupied by the Spaniards for a moment, only to give new eclat to the arms of the Republic, and exhibit the spectacle of the best troops of Spain com-

pelled to renounce the Honours of War, and lay down their arms. The vallies of Bassan and Lerain have supplied the army for several months. Fontarabia and St. Sebastian give us ports that secure the navigation of the Gulf. Spain has lost founderies and manufactories of arms, which would have been an eternal source of jealousy if they had been preserved.

“ Such is this day the situation of France. Could it be grander, stronger, or more formidable? Have not your successes in the Pyrenees answered your hopes, although we still wait for the surrender of Bellegarde? Does not the Rhine protect the territory of the Republic? The Palatinate is open; Treves is in our hands. What plan of campaign could be better conceived, or better executed, than that which restored Valenciennes, recovered the whole frontier of the North, and made you masters of Belgium? If some citizens had conceived ambitious views, or thoughts of disturbing the public tranquility, will they now dare to discover their intentions? Will the nation attend to fears, terrors, and vain alarms when her safety and her glory require that all private interests should unite in the general interest? Will she not repress and restrain those who would attempt to excite new internal troubles? Nation, be attentive to your destiny, which is accomplishing by so many prodigies. Courage, force, intelligence! It is not the work of some citizens, it is the work of a whole people. Popular Societies, remember whatever you have done of grand or sublime when you where

enlightening the French with respect to their rights, when you were inflaming their courage, and preparing them to combat despotism and tyranny. You taught men that they were not born for slavery, that they ought to break their chains on the heads of their tyrants. You taught men that to be free and maintain freedom, they must be instructed in their rights and their duties. What lights have you not diffused over France! Continue your career. The people, as more instructed, call for new lights, for new information. Teach the people to preserve the deposit of their liberties; warn them against error, seduction, and the glitter of individual reputations. Teach them to make new advances in knowledge; observe attentively the proceedings of government, watch over the Public Functionaries, cherish the love of labour, encourage useful men, and by your care confirm national probity, and make it be respected.

“What, it is asked, will be the issue of the war of La Vendee? Various battles have been fought, and the rebels destroyed, yet the war still exists. They no longer form armies or great bodies of men, but they fatigue and harass the cultivators, they disturb and interrupt the harvest. They are attacked and pursued. Favourable occasions have often been overlooked, plans and instructions have not always been followed. The Committee of Public Safety has concerted with the Members, who have local knowledge of the departments of the West, the means of speedily terminating this war.

Some of the Generals are recalled ; Representatives of the People are sent into the country, deeply penetrated with the importance of their mission. Exact discipline, regular conduct, constant activity, are the only means of destroying the rebels, repressing suspected persons, and giving security to good Citizens. A banditti, known by the name of Chouans, have infested the right bank of the Loire, and the roads of ci-devant Brittany. Several couriers and travellers have been assassinated, and citizens, charged with requisitions, have perished by their hands. The Representatives of the People in those parts will soon clear the roads, and preserve those departments from the evils that have afflicted La Vendee. The tranquillity which you will establish here, the grand principles you will sanction, and with which the Representatives of the People and the Generals will shew that they are impressed, will put an end to the calamities that desolate so fair a country. It is by knowledge, by the force of reason, by an army terrible to the rebels, and inspiring confidence into good Citizens, that we shall accomplish the conquest of La Vendee to liberty. You will neglect no means of enlightening the People, and attaching them to the Revolution. There is a powerful engine that has been too long neglected. Dispel the darkness of ignorance, diffuse the light of instruction ; put into the hands of your fellow-citizens those works so long desired, in which they may learn their rights and their duties. Why is the temple of arts and sciences still shut ? Ought

not the means of instruction, like the means of labour, be offered equally to every citizen? In the Valais, every inhabitant understands the cultivation of his field, the arts and the sciences; every house contains a collection of the best books, and the most ingenious instruments of different arts, of which the possessor knows the use. At the camp of Sablons you have opened a school to instruct young citizens in the art of war. Why do you not order a course of study at Paris to form teachers in all other branches of knowledge? In the mean-time, provisional measures must be adopted. It is necessary that you speak often to the People. Order your Committee of Public Instruction to prepare an article for the leisure day of every decade. Let these papers of instruction contain an account of your labours, and the principal events, principles, and rules of conduct. Let them breathe the love of labour, morals, and public honesty. You have lately been talked to of the Liberty of the Press. You have recalled the dispositions of the Declaration of Rights on that head, and the French have sworn to preserve the deposit entrusted to them. Your fellow-citizens now demand a guarantee for individual liberty; tell them that all Citizens are equal, and that the law is the same to all. When you were informed that labourers were pining in idleness in houses of arrest, you ordered before harvest, that they should be set at liberty. Your Committees now inform you, that there are still a great number of industrious Citizens detained in custody, to

the prejudice of the Republic. Your Committees are of opinion, that to release such Citizens is as much an act of justice, as of national benefit. Liberty is the greatest encouragement that can be given to useful men ; gratitude will induce them to render service to their country.

“ The measures which your Committees now propose, appear to them such as circumstances require to be adopted. To restore liberty to all useful men, to impress the brand of humiliation on idleness, to recal institutions to their origin, and powers to their centre ; to honour labour, encourage commerce, diffuse knowledge, establish frequent communication between the People and their Representatives, to lay the foundations of Public Instruction, seem the only measures necessary to accomplish your views, sustain the splendor of the French Nation, and secure its glory and prosperity.”

He concluded, amid warm and unanimous plaudits, with proposing the decrees which were inserted in the Oracle the 7th of October.

the principles of the Republic. Your Committee
takes no opinion, that the measure such as
is as much an act of justice, as of political
liberty. Liberty is the right of every
man that can be given to every man, and
it will induce them to submit to it
in their country.

The measure will be your Committee
now present a report to the Senate and
House of Representatives to the effect that
the right to a trial by jury is a
fundamental principle of the Constitution
and that the right to a trial by jury is
a right which is secured to every citizen
of the United States by the Constitution
and the laws of the United States. The
Committee therefore recommends that the
Senate and House of Representatives
should pass a law to the effect that
the right to a trial by jury is a
fundamental principle of the Constitution
and that the right to a trial by jury is
a right which is secured to every citizen
of the United States by the Constitution
and the laws of the United States.

